

/156 cont. /

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

586 /157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

[595] In most cases, however, the woman remains with her husband even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

562 The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

264 Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

● [184] The Rietfontein Auen always have just one wife. The reason for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auen from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

595 Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto described, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auen declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

847 Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[5 cont.]

172 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafri-
can racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as cer-
tain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry,
who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultiva-
tion and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later
followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake in-
dustries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the
other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafri-
cans was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still un-
able to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age
industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[134] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid --
Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, like-
wise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the con-
ditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other
hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a
selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which re-
sulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the
present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

- [113]
1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central
Angola, " Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No.
2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv
für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The
men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8
(135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the
north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okavango and the

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ochre over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the marriage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present.
As soon as the umbilical cord (//náēba) has fallen off, the child's
hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.

[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen
quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed,
wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its
left side in an extended position with the head toward the west.
Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to
weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from
the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khod
!Khuasha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these
are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a
circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the
circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am #haiba, //am #haiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go
hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marks-
man first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then
divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual
hunter is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In
the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen
practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still
stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter
receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-

• [184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[457] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] occupation.

OCCUPATION.

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which increases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
 137 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit
 134 the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
 137 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137

[136]

"The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusché and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliæcus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

!Kung

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
 182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material
 realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cul-
 tural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously
 carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
 (177) economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to
 handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the
 material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or
 all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their
 Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation
 of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising
 on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
 (153) gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
 (184) the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

(113) 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika,
 Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will
 follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about
 leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand
 him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
 (593) the great affection that exists between parents and children, which
 goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in
 order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at
 the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bush-
 man, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was
 in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that
 stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed com-
 panions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang
 forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous
 animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacker and
 furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity
 to flee."

(114) My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

(113) 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the
Kalahari, London, 1925.

[32 cont.]

224 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the
 423 men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These conditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A

[184] Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
 224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
 [857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
 [411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
 [223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
 [262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
 [136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
 [223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
 756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
 796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
 [276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
 [354] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
 women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
 who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
 [533] in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
 assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

(532)



Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sick-
 ness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the
 Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow.
 With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek.
 London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okavango,
 which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
 here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader
 of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female
 doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position
 of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person;
 the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing

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[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184]
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1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

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When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[187] misfortune.

774 Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

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2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit.,
p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars.
The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the
Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions.
Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as ani-
mals or human beings who have gone up to
the sky.

773

The following story is told: During the
girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical
powers nodded to some lions and they were
immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story:
During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling
with her mother because the latter refused to
give her certain roots that may not be eaten
at such times. The girl seized the roots and
the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The
roots became stars, the ashes became the
Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify mis-
fortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards,
and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man,
especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes.
When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

• [184] The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
774 form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
775 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self
walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is sup-
posed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In
THE BEYOND ONE ACTS THE SAME AS ON THIS
EARTH.

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman
race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German South-west Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pösch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

● [184]
114 To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die Au-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

Auin, and one by D.F. Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F. Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

Heikum
Kung/253 cont. /

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

535 The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with 194 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

262 Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to discover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

224 The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers



/256 cont. /

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3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

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4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

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/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences. Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

2 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

648

self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

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We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952-3, for six weeks again in 1955.

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During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

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We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kō and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

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Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

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After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship' has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.²

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10-15 persons up to large ones of 40-60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

¹ D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923-6), pp. 57-70.

² Miss Bleek (*ibid.*) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba sig* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaw* for Br. We did not hear *lge*, nor *swig* *lge*, nor *tsu* as a prefix to *sig*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the

Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word /*ka* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collateral on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsaw* *lge*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsaw* *lge*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN 7

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin and to all lineal kin save those related by parent-child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent-child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kö systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be explained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.
2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.
3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.
4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.
5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.
6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN 23

method had been established. The /Kō and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term /*gu/na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translatable words, 'big or old name'. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun/ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tūn*). *Tun/ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later /*gu/na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun/ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tūn* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term /*go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dōle*. *Ju* means person, *dōle* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

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As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the !gikwe, !ganakwe and !h3: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. [126] [28]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. [114]

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. [262] [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. [824] [137x]

x137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

lh5: Bushman.....	dam
lganakwe Bushman...	n an
lgikwe Bushman.....	n an
Naron Bushman.....	n a-l
Eastern !khû Bushman	-t'a-ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

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The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

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At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

- 622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
- [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilineal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
- 621 [582] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
- 361 [583] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.
- 184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
- 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
- [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
- 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who
- 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
- [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.
- 361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
- [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

- 372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-!ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *!gāus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *!gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-!ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living. Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-!ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-!ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies *norah* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
- 184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

- 593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.
- 512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.
- 462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

sticks, pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect
veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going,
gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell
beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for
keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old
enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman
who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of
boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they
accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to
learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve
upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the
camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each
morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first
they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to
amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is
provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows
which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed
to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small
buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is
given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become
proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot
big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he
has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 331
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full
membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [134]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony
as practised among the *Hei-//om* group around the Etosha
Pan. As young girls (*ꞑkham-khoidi*) approach the age of
puberty they are placed in a hut called *ꞑkham-khoidi* or
ouai-khoidi oms in which they sleep at night. During the
daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in com-
pany with the married women. Men, whether married or
single, may not enter the *ꞑkham-khoidi oms* nor may they
speak to the *ꞑkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak
and be spoken to by the *ararogu*, but only at a distance so
that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without
being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on
occasion address a *ꞑkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up
so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When
addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

- 881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the $\sharp A\phi$ -// $\tilde{e}in$, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (// $\tilde{g}ua-da$) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (// $\tilde{g}ua-kam$). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of // $\tilde{n}oun$ (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted // $\tilde{n}oun$. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little // $\tilde{n}oun$ to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted // $\tilde{n}oun$ and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow.
- [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE, DEATH, ETC.

- 582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the $\sharp A\phi$ -// $\tilde{e}in$ and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

Exchange of wives

is practised among some of the Kulahari groups but not by the *Hei-//om*. 184

Among the *Hei-//om* a young man eligible for marriage is known as a *'gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*'gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *'gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *'gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *'gu-#a-#nab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *'gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *//gāus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

- 606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidentally they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.
- 847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.
- 844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 846 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are 848 not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. 164 It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five 163 or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance 159 is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 153 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, 151 namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the ⁵⁵³ surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus /Uirob Geirob /Geibeb married a woman /Kao-tamas Gamanis /Harus and begot two sons, namely //Otoab ‡Gonab /Garub and Gogob Gomob /Garub, and one daughter Hoaras /Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of //Otoab become //Otoab ‡Gonab /Garub /Geibemab. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick-⁵⁵¹ names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with ⁶⁴ civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances ⁷⁵³ attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to "something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- ⁷⁵⁷ tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. ⁷⁶⁴ Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left ⁷⁶⁴ in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not ⁷⁶⁸ occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help ⁸⁸⁸ themselves are left, in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

DANCES AND GAMES.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into ⁵³⁵ the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hāgi-ho*, and *ge-'ni* among the ‡Ao-//ēin and *Aikwe* and the *hauca-†nab* among the *Hei-//om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

524-thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *!Ae-//ein* and *!Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [85] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (*Bauhinia esculenta*), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

- 137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in
 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the
 262 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (*citrullus vulgaris*), *üintjes* (*cyperis edulis* Dtr.) and *!nōun* (*Bauhinia esculenta*). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, e.g., the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

- 222 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *!huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *!huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *!gāus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women²²² to the *//gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei/ai* and, after having applied *ʔnorab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and²⁶² honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of *Gintjes* forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according²²¹ to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season²²⁴ (winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These¹⁸⁴ weapons differ considerably in character in various localities.⁴¹¹ The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also¹⁸⁴ varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it²⁷⁶ is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These
vary considerably among the different tribes. The following
is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-//om*.
After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter
until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the
//gāus (camp). The following morning the whole community
takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's
tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night
by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front
and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures.
After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.

252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and
cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the
blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after
this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the
men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into

[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then
removed to the *//gāus* by the men who may occasionally be
assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gāus* all the meat
is laid on the ground under the *'heis* either on sticks which
were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*

224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *'heis-jais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat
is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the
meantime being hung on the *'heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of
the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from
doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow.
The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate
pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is
also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the
gei-khoib removes a piece from the pot and "tastes"
(*tsū-tsū*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth
and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The
meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The
cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between
the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood.
The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood
and meat. The resulting dish is known as *ʔkoms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *sora* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The
liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the
animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope
of the *sora* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it
is *sora*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain
categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions
of the animal, the rest of the meat being *sora* to them. For
example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is
entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

224 visits a //gūus for this purpose he kindles the /hei-/ais
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *sora* and women may eat the *noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *sora* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the //gūus.

184 *Sora* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoi*, [*Koma-khoi* and *Go-gara-khoi*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *sora*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoi* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoi* consider the eland to be absolute *sora*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the //gūus, sleep under the /heis as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ointjes, //nōon and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (*brauistok*) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly²⁵² disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups²⁵⁷ use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of²⁶⁴ wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make⁴¹⁵ wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some¹⁸⁴ purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except²⁶² by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco²³⁷ pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The /Nu-//*ein*^[134] and //Aikwe are more expert in preparing skins than the /A-//*ein* and other tribes living to the north. Articles^[438] made by the former form an important medium of exchange.

The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it^[432] also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large^[415] animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the^[301] manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time⁴³⁸ form the most important article of barter among the /Nu-//*ein*, Kaukau Bushmen and Hei-//om. Among the most^[184] northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red^[278] ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the⁴³⁸ principal media of exchange.

RELIGION.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit^[2] me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

[15] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
 174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous
 places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
 131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
 133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
 [18] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive
 on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the
 territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months
 of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
 563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
 648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu
 farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those
 who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and
 households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they
 usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when
 working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
 464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
 648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have
 Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not
 depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do
 employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a
 month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is work-
 ing, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about
 a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occa-
 sionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the em-
 ployer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off
 pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but oc-
 casionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit
 the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
 291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
 439

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
 854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from
 the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip
 she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us
 from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were
 strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother
 stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding
 her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in
 the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting
 in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her hus-
 band go by she had assumed that everything was all right and
 had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long
 thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and
 square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
 291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her
 hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
 304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
 302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
 184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off
 as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-
 of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance
 that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once
 beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the
 way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
 [854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she
 told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them
 off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching
 over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row
 of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are
 made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear
 them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
 825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
 278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and
 dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's
 head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did
 not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
 194 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it, [284] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

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"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with⁶⁰⁹ you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the⁷⁶¹ customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the⁷⁶⁴ Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe¹⁸⁴ dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu-⁷⁶⁴neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for⁷⁷⁵ after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
 775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil
 his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person,
 whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given
 up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
 775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
 789 herb called *sasa*, in the nostrils of the dead person, and
 824 sprinkled his body with *sasa* before the burial. This, said
 Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but
 also it may well have to do with protecting the living from
 the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this be-
 cause Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name
 except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung re-
 spect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only
 after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe
 seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not ex-
 775 pect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki*
 (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
 [82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is
 why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit
 might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing
 through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to
 the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead
 thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes
 the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
 • 124 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting
 position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees.
 Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered
 into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

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differs from that of the Gikwe. The Kung, after filling in the⁷⁶⁴ grave and protecting it with stones or thorn branches, break¹⁸⁴ the schern of the dead person down over the grave, shatter all or most of his possessions, and strew the fragments over the grave together with sasa powder. Last, they kindle a fire in front of the now destroyed schern and bend a reed, which they thrust into the ground, so that the grave, the fire, and the pointing reed make a line toward the place where the person who is now dead was born.

The Kung then abandon the grave immediately and for⁷⁷⁵ ever, for when darkness falls the spirit blows down the wind and remains near its grave for an indefinite time. Whenever the Kung pass near the grave they blow sasa toward it to ensure their safety.

The Kung are so afraid of the spirits of the dead that they do not feel it necessary to remain as guardians of the grave, or even until they have "given up hope." Occasionally their custom proves unfortunate, as it has happened that the buried person rose from his grave and followed his people to their new camp. We ourselves knew a Kung Bushman who had died, been buried, and was resurrected; he clambered out of his grave at night, followed his band to their new camp, and rejoined his family to live out a happy life. It must happen rather often that people are mistaken for dead and buried accidentally—often enough, at least, to necessitate a word in the language, for those people who do revive and manage to dig out of their shallow graves are called the *twi*.

The spirit that does not become a *twi* does not remain alone by the grave forever, but is found by the great god in his wanderings over the veld and is taken to his home in the east. There it is hung in a tree and smoked in a medicine smoke until it becomes a *gaua*, a spirit of the dead, and can serve the

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep water-holes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

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Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

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Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

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LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

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The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

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The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /dassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224

(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistence of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with

• 184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
162 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[241] have the institution of the name relationship.
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101 The northern division peoples call themselves "kū"
meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers
have adopted this as the general appellation for the tribe.
There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this
name¹ and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It
is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appella-
tion for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83)
and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not
the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the
controversy over spelling is an academic one because the
majority of the "Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal
appellation at all:

The central division "Kung" call themselves "zū/wāsi"
(zū = "people"; /wā = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix).
This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people".
It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth
Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless
People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

¹ At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature
including: Kung, !Kū, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, /Kūng, ċhū, !xū,
!Khū, :un, !Kung.

[10] appellation ":Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division :Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them /Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), /Ao-//in (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name /d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the :Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the :Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The :Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the /d"au//ae (north side) people".

- [19] Since all three groups, calling themselves :Kū, zū/wāsi,
• [184] and /d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name :Kung be adopted as the tribal appellation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of :Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[22] central group.

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kū the
241 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
439 lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain
berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; other-
wise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and
skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their
neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung
in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal
communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
464 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering,
648 but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-
associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional
hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of
South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with,
and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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Kuangari

Bunja

Sambiu

Djiriku

in South West Africa

Mbukushu

in South West Africa and B. P.

Bayei

Batawana

Herero

in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact

[131] with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
[184] of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
[602] dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
[582] tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

[131] Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated
!Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the
northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior
of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in
Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

Since
131 the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and :angwa, and since their
312 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt
619 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all
the central water sources under the term "interior" and
consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as periph-
eral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
• 184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative
of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today
living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.¹ It
was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study
site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman
population living traditionally and independently. It was
realized at the outset that such a population was not typical
of the majority of !Kung.

¹ A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Ban̄tu. It
[174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced
into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that
they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe
winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting.
In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of
the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting.
Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The
estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was
approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting
dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of
the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good
hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of
the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

- [184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting
it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the
Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal
communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that re-
quired no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down
immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club
of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This
consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open
with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a
softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the
staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged"
within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable
storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the
women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the
outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit
produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed
prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are
set aside for later cracking and eating.

- 184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[17] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[648] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine.
[464]

At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident,
two young men killed four large buck in the space of one
month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an

[17] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and
meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

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during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines. Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe [184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
• 184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted
at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

- 221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

- 222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

BUSHMEN

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.¹ 619
 Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
 to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to
 a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen.
 But the little we know about their customs and social organization
 shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly
 been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters
 by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with
 its own distinctive name. The /geinin in the true Namib desert between
 Luderitz and Conception Bay, the //obanen in the region round the
 junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the /koma of the
 Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared com-
 pletely; the /ganin in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein
 S. are almost totally extinct, while the /huinin in the southern extremity
 of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented
 by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [62]
 estimated at between 75 and 100.² Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.³ This may be
 taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the
 Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well
 as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to
 link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear
 evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
 quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
 culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
 fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially
 related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture
 running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
 that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in
 type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally
 with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west
 of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in
 the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with
 Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

¹ L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98-105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 301-6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166-70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301-8.

² T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthropol.*, 1879, 307-8.

38 DISTRIBUTION AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the
184 Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

161 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.¹ Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.² Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,³ and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.⁴ This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.⁵ Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",⁶ and recently Pösch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.⁷

In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.⁸ Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

¹ Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.

² "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290

³ *Bushman Folklore*, 329.

⁴ "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.

⁵ Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108-9; Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 141-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245-6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10-11.

⁶ Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.

⁷ Op. cit., vol. i, 276.

⁸ "Die Buschmänner," 66.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Bushmen FX10

BODILY MUTILATIONS

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.¹ This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.² It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.³ Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

¹ *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158-60.

² Kolb, *op. cit.*, 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyn, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98-9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.

³ Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 333-4.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BAND 83

patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." ⁶²¹
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. ⁽⁸⁸⁸⁾

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.¹ The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,² and similarly, among the IO Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the woman's."³ ⁵⁸² ⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."⁴ Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even from other tribes.⁵ The Kung also marry outside their own band;⁶ ⁶²¹ ¹⁸⁴ ⁵⁸² ⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ ⁽⁸³⁵⁾ ⁽⁶¹⁹⁾

¹ "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 19.

² Trenk, op. cit., 168.

³ D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.

⁴ "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.

⁵ Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."

⁶ Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kü-Buschmannsprache," Z. KolSpr., I (1910), 8.

184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.¹ A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among
the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from
one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded
by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too,
the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.²

591 After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
183 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.³
As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron,
however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is
recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage,
and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when
the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to
return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about
a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice.
Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people,
but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at
his father's place, though they do not always do so."⁴ Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band "⁵—
a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen
are a matrilineal people.⁶ It is far more probable, however, that he
was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that
the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other
evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal
institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should
be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in
the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the
Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

¹ Op. cit., 105

² Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).

³ D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.

⁴ Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."

⁵ *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

61 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already
62 mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

ENCAMPMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the
221 Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are
[194] found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.¹

361 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary.
342 The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

¹ Selmer, "Bereisung der Omahaka," 294, 297.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.¹ Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. [342] [361] [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."² [361] [622] [342] [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.³ [361]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.⁴ As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

¹ Trank, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.

² "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

³ D. F. Bleek, *The Men and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.

⁴ Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 90-3; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek¹ applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.² "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.³ Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.⁴

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

¹ Op. cit., 1.² Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.³ Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, 1, 271-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.⁴ Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped locusts, *isama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another, somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,¹ "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

¹ Op. cit., 87,

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. ³⁷²
[114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. ³⁷²
[177]
[622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.¹ The published information relating ²⁶²
[841]
[821]
[114]

¹ L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.¹ 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the puberty ceremonies.² Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.³ [881]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.⁴ The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. 585
As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

¹ Lebzeiter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwester gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the Northern Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

² Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

³ Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33-4.

⁴ Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504-5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 218; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Durnan, op. cit., 124-8.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own ⁵⁹¹
//gaw his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the ⁵⁸⁵
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, ^[184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval
of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for
the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast.
When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the
opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives
to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound
thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to
keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a
married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some
other time before he could again claim his bride.¹

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found ^[727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.² Miss Bleek ⁵⁸³
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.³
A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another
village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning
his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry
off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she
likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly
precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a
fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in
the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though
etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really
objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor,
she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his
friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an
attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off
in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have ^[721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames ^[177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is ^[581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse ⁸³⁷

¹ Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.

² Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 81.

³ Naron, 33.

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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.¹ Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.² This statement runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate. [586] [595] [114]

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.³

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,⁴ to the popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share. [587] [589] [754] [761]

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.⁵ Widows among the Auen may also marry [184] [736] [587]

¹ Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 157.² Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 301.³ D. F. Bleek, Naron, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.⁴ "Customs of the Hei-/om," 60.⁵ Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibareb*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four
[862] years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.¹ Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save [163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the

[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among

● [184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

[165] In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

¹ Passarge, op. cit. 99; Kaufmann, op. cit. 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31-2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

593 So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives

603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a

[597] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often

[868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there

593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.¹

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

● [184] Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

¹ D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66-7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushman of S.W. Africa," 94.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood, together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down. After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail. Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the IO Kung of Angola differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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184 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all
304 blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her
881 father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts
are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a
[776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that //gāua,
a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made
in his honour.¹ Both the scarifications and the presence of a super-
natural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other
Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat
different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-
Western tribes.

184 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass
881 through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period.
Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears
from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are
initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described
[304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists
in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the
operators being the older women.² If this information be correct,
[177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the
other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been
borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty
ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

BOYS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching
the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become
proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among
the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded
spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.³ Here all the
eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken
[756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they
remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure.
During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

¹ D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.

² Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.

[114] ³ Passarge, *op. cit.*, 100-1; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23-5; *idem*,
"Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, *op.*
cit., 91-2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest
time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when
food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the /nu//en, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,¹ while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.²

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.³ Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them. . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better. . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."⁴ The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

¹ *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.

² "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

³ "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.

⁴ Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31-2.

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881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,¹ "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age. . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

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● 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

¹ Op. cit., 158-60.

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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum
171 and the IO Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

278 All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.¹ Many ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. 184
278 There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

¹ A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, II (1921), 199-214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmacological-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51-69; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, II (1929), 74-89.

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mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle. 278
[184]

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Acokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri* Engl.), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily [136]

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for 224 himself.

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the 223 skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach 825 the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick [292] with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow¹ [532] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be [184] generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow 224 their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. 825 The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs 224 which accompany their masters on the hunt.² These are the only [231] domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

¹ Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.

² Dornan, op. cit., 101; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.

³ Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262-3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 371; Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalands*, 73; Schultz, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103-4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.¹ 224
[278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.² [184] ●
[221]
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Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

¹ Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 111-6).

² Schultze, *op. cit.*, 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 11.

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.¹ Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.²

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.³

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

¹ Chapman, *op. cit.*, I, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, *op. cit.*, 108-9; Vedder, *op. cit.*, 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114-15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

² "Aus der Namib," 505.

³ Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15-16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

COLLECTING

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222
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The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462]
[412]
[184] ●

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,¹ "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222
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[184]
[171]

¹ "Customs of the Hei-//om," 16-7; *idem*, "Bushman of S.W.A." 98-9.

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222 A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection
 622 of veldkos, is held by the Kung.¹ Once a year, when the edible bulbs
 [184] of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season,
 the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the
 inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots
 mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around
 him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which
 is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild
 fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both
 hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its
 burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into
 flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to
 [782] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you,
 [539] please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire
 has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs,
 which up till now they might not touch.

222 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the
 184 presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the
 gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman
 tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which
 may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although
 they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This
 [462] is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the
 [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in
 [415] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be
 [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre
 or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a
 water-bottle.

312 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the
 182 Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of
 [221] life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the
 [621] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have
 seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live
 together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry
 season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the
 growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game
 lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound
 [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

¹ Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kǀ-Buschmannsprache," 6-7.

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the IO Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.¹ But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically

¹ Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 113; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51.

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177 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has
439 made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco,
which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they
carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself
[437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos,
and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for
tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading
[484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form
of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The IO Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go
out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by
[184] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins
[222] obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu
among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded,
sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to
Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade
with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous
in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets
from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear
heads, and beads.¹

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.²

438 Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade
relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in
the north down almost to the Molopo.³ In this the Naron and the
Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further
north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further
south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard
[436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and
may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen
438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former
439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

¹ D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52-3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.

² Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118-19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.

³ Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 152-3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37-8.

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⁵⁸⁷ band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.¹

⁶²²
● [184] Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gai-khoib*; the last two words are of Hottentot origin).² The office is as a rule hereditary [192] in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band [184] in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the [171] neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the [611] Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

¹ D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, *op. cit.*, 170; Seydel, *op. cit.*, 104.

² Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36-7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86-8; Lebzeiter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten,'" 14.

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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. [184] ●

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. [157] If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. [83] [867] [881]

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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.¹ A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

¹ Quoted in Moritz, "Die älteren Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Min. deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 194.

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood
revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was
allowed to rest there.

628 Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
682 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest
male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to under-
take vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses
this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has
caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out.
He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without
question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is
supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud,
although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their
captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed
by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's
family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer,
and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the
kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only
punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely
administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute
leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by
Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from
Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host
put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found
by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it.
While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft
pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled,
but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since
then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected
though they were by marriage.

• [184] The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
622 Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.¹ He states, it is true, that in case of
692 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

¹ Seydel, *op. cit.*, 303-6.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury⁶²² resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man.⁶⁹² The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.^[695] Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.⁶⁸¹

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these¹¹⁴ Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is⁶⁹² no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama⁶⁸¹ Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes,^[171] to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.^[184]

RELATIONS WITH OTHER BANDS

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting⁶¹⁹ territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their⁶²¹ own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before^[591] returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also^[574] frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also^[438] find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the IGinkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu/en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual,
726 but the extent of each campaign is small.¹ The chiefs have general
701 command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace,
[622] where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience
[887] naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and
ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons

[411] used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, 628 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, 721 then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made 628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, 726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood 727 feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will 184 under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or 721 even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

¹ Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."¹ 775
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The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. [184] ●

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.² The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775
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¹ *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147-8.² *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 27, 22.

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- 114 asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life
 184 and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when
 769 alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bush-
 789 men do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world
 [775] of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assump-
 tion of any regular organized worship of the dead.

WORSHIP OF HEAVENLY BODIES

- 782 Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the
 821 worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers
 [794] directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected
 by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too
 [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One
 account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears
 every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen
 throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon
 when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special
 form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food,
 and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,¹ may be quoted
 as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised
 right hand:—

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Ho, my hand is this,
 I shoot a springbok with my hand
 By an arrow.

I lie down,
 I will early kill a springbok
 To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
 Let me kill a springbok
 To-morrow,
 Let me eat a springbok;
 With this arrow
 Let me shoot a springbok
 With this arrow;
 Let me eat a springbok,
 Let me eat filling my body
 In the night which is here,
 Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
 I dig out ants' food
 To-morrow,
 Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
 I kill an ostrich to-morrow
 With this arrow.

¹ "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, II (1929), 306.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived⁷⁷³ histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman⁸²¹ mythology is extremely rich.¹

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to⁸²¹ enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship⁷⁷¹ directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen,⁷⁷⁶ but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating⁷⁸² to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again⁸²¹ meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the^[184] Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we^[789] may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in^[77] the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.²

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last⁸²¹ century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded^[782] in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd³; but according to Lebzelter^[78] there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or⁷⁷³ moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man,⁸²¹ who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

¹ Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101-2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10-12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 12; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 73-99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

² Naron, 26-7.

³ *Bushman Folklore*, 414-15.

[821] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzeiter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.¹

[782] Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[535] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her, in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words:—

[539] //nuw-ss //kubama //gu a i-i, New Moon, come out, give water to us,
 //nuw-ss tsatana //gu a i-i, New Moon, thunder down water for us,
 //nuw-ss tsale u //gu a i-i, New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the rain-giver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and [193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, [196] short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers [782] to the former are recorded, however.²

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that ● [184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything [782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

¹ Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khaun-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh Buschleuten" 13.

² "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119-20, 122, 124.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

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or other worship directed to these bodies.¹ How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hlchware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. [821] [777] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and IO Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. [776]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, /kaggen, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is /huntu/katt/katten, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, /gaunu-ts'axau (/gaunu is the name of a certain star, and ts'axau means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, /kaggen-opwa, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, /xo, the Porcupine. [773] [776] [184] [825]

¹ Pygmies and Bushmen, 163.

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O gallop,
O gallop,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with
them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so
when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other
magicians have a similar power over the wind, /*khwe*, and are protected
by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it
tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly
they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears
the form of a bird.¹

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
● [184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed
that 'Kaang (i.e. /*kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, 'Kue-'akeng-
[761] 'teng, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked
for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "Cagn (i.e. /*kaggen*)" gave us the song
of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it,
and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance
of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from
the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm
medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

¹ Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20-1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195-9, 193-7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307-9.

[104] ² In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. Cagn is therefore merely another way of writing /*kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
 [797] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
 [224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.¹

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant, [756] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, [791] who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded [773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do [184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis. 184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to 776 Miss Lloyd several tales about /xwe, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. /xwe also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.²

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about Hishe or Hiyesha, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' [88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans. [756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws [114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

177 From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the 776 idea of /khuba or /xuba (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

¹ Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32-3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 101, 105-6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.

² Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404-13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of /*khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was /*khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of /*khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form /*khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.¹

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.² Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.³

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name // *Khu*)⁴ or *Xuwa*,

¹ D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24-6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

² Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 133.

³ "Grammatik der !Kö-Buschmannsprache," 6-7.

⁴ It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: // *Ku* is elsewhere written // *Khu*, // *gouab* alternates with // *gouab*, *gagorob* with // *gau* // *gorob*, and so on.

- 776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (xo). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" seeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. Xu summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, //gauab, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his [782] "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.¹

- The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of ● [94] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like Xu, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, [821] and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.²
- 821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as Xu. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

¹ "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Kam-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 11.

² "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.¹ 184
716
[821]
[782]
[224]

The IO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for //nwa-sa, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.² Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [782]
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776
224
[821]

¹ Lebzelter, op. cit., 410-12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 122, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

² D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 34; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
 776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
 [224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering mean-
 while "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when
 he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted
 by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from
 Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two
 words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks :
 "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to *Thora*, for at times the
 latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful
 enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near
 the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
 voice : ' *Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e*, *Thora* come to the help of *Huwe*
 [539] *i-e i-e*,¹ ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the
 [782] two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all
 probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would
 explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found
 alongside it.¹

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
 821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of //gauwa (*Gaua*,
 [776] //gaua, //gauab, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
 [144] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
 [775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead
 person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application.
 Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called //gauwa
 when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by
 Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of //gauwa as
 a bird accompanying him. " //gauwa says : 'I make the wind and
 thus go.' " Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
 192 //gauwa, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
 776 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother,
 114 while others said //gauwa was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no
 ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings,
 nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among
 the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or
 "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

¹ Dornan, op. cit., 148-50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 186, 87. The translation given
 by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied
 upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words : "God
 leave (us) alone is ie 1"

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while those dying a "good death" go to /*khutse* (/khuba). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hische*.¹

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in //*gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The IO Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to //*gaua*. When it thunders, they say "//*gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "//*gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called //*gaua*'s fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. //*gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were //*gaua*'s children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said //*gaua* was *Ndžambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to //*gaua*."

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of //*gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, //*gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

¹ D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.² Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 94; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 133-4.

776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed //gauab by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is /nawa. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we have to do here with the high god of another religion, and /nawa is to be identified with //nwa-se, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." [184] /nawa or //gauab does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [782] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [224] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been [753] baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the //gauab who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (xa) and bring them to Xu. The third group comprises the "small" //gauab, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the dsao, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.¹

184 The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate world of spirits. Mention is made only of the /gagorob or /gau/gorob, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the //gauab."²

[192] Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with //gauab, or, as the name is here rendered, /gamab. Owing to Christian influence [177] /gamab is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with /nawa or the principal //gauab of the Eastern Kung, and with /gamab of the Bergdama and Nama. /gamab is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (darish) come to live with him,

¹ "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Käun-Buschmänner," 407-10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kua-Buschleuten," 13.

² "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Isee*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.¹

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.²

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, *Thora* or *Huwe*, and one bad, *Khauna*, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."³

The word *Gauna* (*/gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

¹ Op. cit., 410.² Op. cit., 410-11.³ *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167-8.

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776 [192] Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.¹

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776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception of *//gauna* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177
776 [797] Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Drimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".² Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

¹ *Second Journey into S. Africa*, II, 31-2.

² Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -l in r übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18-19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heisi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hische* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of //gaua as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hische*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is

776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
 [782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
 [224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
 [756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many
 children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

184 Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
 776 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
 IO IKung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
 [775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
 [224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
 On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
 [881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
 [114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which
 are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these
 ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association
 with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector
 of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that
 this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
 [782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe*
 is substituted by the IO IKung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the
 prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are
 directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
 [114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
 [821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
 [224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
 [753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between
Huwe and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen.
 Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mytho-
 logical character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
 relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
 [782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
 [825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
 [775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
 of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis,
 just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern
 Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and
Huwe is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The IO Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

● 184 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan /*gamab* makes thunder and
776 lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting
[821] stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind // *gaua*,
[825] while sometimes // *gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
[777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Klauna* is the source of
[753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-
[821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further
[825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and
[753] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get
the general impression of // *gaua* as the source of illness and death,
acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting
stars.

184 In all this // *gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the
776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the
821 latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths
as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal,
and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When
the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirl-
wind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind
forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
[761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
[775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars;
shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
[825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*,
known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird",
here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be
added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are
said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed
by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for
some past misdeed.¹

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, // *gaua* shares
776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly
among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does
not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of
the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
[782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
[755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
[775] same time the "demiurge" /*gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
[821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, /*gamab*

¹ Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 104.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, /nawa or the chief of the //gauab figures as the creator, and, as the executive of Xu, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of Huwe on the one hand and of //gaua on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is Hishe who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by Gaua. //gaua, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified //gaua with Ndzambi, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of //gaua as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of Huwe, Thora, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of //gaua first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

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In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called /gixa (plural, /giien). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [754] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rain-maker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.¹

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

• [184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce [881] *Hiske* into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hiske*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. [756] [825]

Naron magicians (*isho k'au* or *nu k'au*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*isho k'au*, *nu k'au* or *!geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.¹ [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The *!u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the *!ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.² Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of *!nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

¹ D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 119.

² "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the //gawab, and only they know
 [787] and utter the real name, /nawa, of the chief of the latter. The evening
 [782] before a hunting-expedition they pray to //gawab for help, and certain
 756 of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
 789 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over
 and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger
 and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain
 in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the
 camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He
 climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to
 meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain,
 he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts
 him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
 to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
 [782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
 [776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
 [82] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord.
 As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold
 upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows
 immediately."¹

- 184 Among the IO Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
 756 The /num-k'au officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
 791 sees spirits, and also conjures up //gawa, while the tsho-k'au heals
 [881] the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
 [787] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
 [755] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
 if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony
 of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.²

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes
 of magician among the Kung and the IO Kung are also found among
 the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there
 is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither
 Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
 [789] to be attributed to //gawa, and he gives the following myth in con-
 firmation.³ "The Bushman Tji-Tji is said to have been initiated

¹ Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.

² D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.

³ "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a *gemabok*. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said,
 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep
 here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked
 to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).¹ The latter replied, 'If I give
 you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will
 give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little
 arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing
 taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have
 known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754
 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North- 114
 Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 411
 of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp 756
 thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows [184]
 described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm.
 long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This
 head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while
 the protruding end was blunted.¹

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different
 suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly
 not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used
 only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From
 various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are
 definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name
 "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets.
 It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison
 on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody
 struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the
 Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel
 among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man
 wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the
 opponent's *kaross* with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost.
 The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the
 magic."² This statement is supported by the report of a case tried
 at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, *inter alia*, that a
 poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In
 the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

¹ Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116-17, and references.

² Naron, 28.

114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".¹ The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used
for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar
is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape
Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows,
but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described
have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and
beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
● [184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number
with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that
certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the
flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not under-
stand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get
into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell
those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow
it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming.
They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people
where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which
way to go, and so on.²

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
787 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad,
the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male,
the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each
marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west.
The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians.
They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing
them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones
are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari
Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

¹ *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.

² Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17-18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330-9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.¹

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.²

¹ Werner, "Heikun und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159. Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, 22, 505-7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155-8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28-9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10-11.

² Bleek and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 365; D. F. Bleek, *op. cit.*, 29.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music,⁵³⁴ although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the */gubo* is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form. [177]

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers. [184]

DECORATIVE AND PICTORIAL ART

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit: It is not often met with.¹ 531

¹ Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672-3; Perinquey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Strusselern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31-40.

172 Several different colours were used, the most common being red,
532 black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from
[386] mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron
pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned
wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded
to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat.
The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and
the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared
on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly
as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline
of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia,
but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled
in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently
from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome,
so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with
no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome.
Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been
used to demarcate the various features of the object represented.
Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs
coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly,
and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended
into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best
specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless,
that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the
drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance,
that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples
are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which
cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the
same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings
and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological,
sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different
styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different
styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement
industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups
of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring
184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west
532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the
Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

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systems.¹ This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archaeological study of the paintings and engravings. 172
532
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[119]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

¹ Op. cit., 116-19.

172 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures
 ● 184 for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost
 532 vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently
 reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn,
 the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human
 hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the
 Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the
 532 most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects
 also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees,
 etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant,
 rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially
 the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very
 prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which
 they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an
 artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation
 of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended
 for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group
 scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal
 fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here
 in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These
 pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the
 native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which
 they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions
 under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and
 supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only
 for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many
 of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the
 limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part
 the drawings of primitive peoples.¹ The aspect usually shown
 is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most
 striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and
 also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a
 plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four
 legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion
 or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

¹ An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333-8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 3-10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.¹ One of these animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.² He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

KNOWLEDGE OF TIMES AND SEASONS

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

¹ Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 399; Cornwell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.

² Op. cit., 391-6.

184 The Naron have three seasons : spring, when the birds mate and the
805 first flowers come, from about August to October ; summer, when
it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March ;
and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The IO Kung also
have three seasons : the cold dry time from about April to September,
the first rains from then to about November ; and the real rainy season
from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung,
and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons : the cold
dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring),
the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second
rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed,
a year is finished ; but there is no clear conception of the year as a
period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in
which season their babies were born, and for three or four years
know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused.
Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his
comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always
well established.¹

184 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes
805 a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars
821 foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise
just before dawn, the cold is due ; when they come before midnight,
spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names
for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear,
which is just visible at Sandfontein ; and they know when each
constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.²

184 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special
821 interest in the stars. The IO Kung, for instance, as we have seen,
speak of all the stars as //gana's fires, and have no separate names for
any of them ; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum.
The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the
movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great
many of them. Thus Archernar is the " Star-digging-stick's stone "
or the " Digging-stick's stone of Canopus ", while Canopus itself
is the " Bushman's rice star " ; the Pointers to the Southern Cross
are male lions ; α , β , and γ Crucis are lionesses ; Aldebaran is a
male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest ; Procyon a male

¹ D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola,"
110 ; *idem*, *Naron*, 39 ; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 160 ; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.

² D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is 184
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 773
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 821
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once
having been men or animals before being transformed into their
present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of
the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light,
so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore
threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way.
In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty
seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of
branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became
stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona
Australis.¹

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one
mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe
star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.²

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the
year or in a season.³ They observe the phases of the Moon closely, 821
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding
to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks 177
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the
seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with 648
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the
New Moon.⁴

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the
sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts
of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

¹ Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.

² *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 161.

³ Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kua-Buschleuten," 11) that the Eastern Kung have
a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another.
He omits to give any further details.

⁴ D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann,
loc. cit.